

Message Text

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ORIGIN SY-05

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 MCT-01 A-01 SS-15
NSCE-00 INR-10 INRE-00 CIAE-00 OPR-02 OC-06 CCO-00
SSO-00 /066 R

DRAFTED BY SY/CC/TAG:DAPLUCHINSKY:SMC

APPROVED BY SY/CC - SID T. TELFORD

SY/PRS/SD - J MCNULTY

A - J CLARK

DESIRED DISTRIBUTION

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-----108444 121544Z /46

O P 121512Z JUL 78

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 175484

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS:ASEC, PINS

SUBJECT: THREAT ANALYSIS FOR SECSTATE VISIT TO FEDERAL
REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, JULY 13-17, 1978

GENEVA FOR SA ROCHE, BONN FOR RSO AND SY ADVANCE,
FRANKFURT FOR RSO, RSS, AND SY ADVANCE, USBERLIN FOR PSO
AND SY ADVANCE, USSS FOR ID

BEGIN SUMMARY. THERE ARE NO KNOWN THREATS SPECIFICALLY
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DIRECTED AT THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN CONJUNCTION WITH
HIS VISIT WITH PRESIDENT CARTER TO THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC
OF GERMANY FROM JULY 13-17, 1978. HOWEVER, IT SHOULD
BE NOTED THAT THE TERRORIST ENVIRONMENT IN WEST GERMANY
IS POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE. ALTHOUGH IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT
WEST GERMAN TERRORISTS WOULD ATTEMPT AN OPERATION
AGAINST THE SECRETARY OR PRESIDENT CARTER, THE
POSSIBILITY OF A DEMONSTRATIVE OR SYMBOLIC INCIDENT BY
THESE TERRORISTS MUST BE CONSIDERED. WEST GERMAN
TERRORISTS HAVE UNDERGONE A SERIES OF DEFEATS BY WEST

GERMAN AUTHORITIES SINCE THE MOGADISCIO RAID IN OCTOBER 1977. THE CENTRAL QUESTION IS WHETHER THESE

DEFEATS HAVE PUT THE TERRORISTS ON THE DEFENSIVE OR COMPELLED THEM TO GO ON THE OFFENSIVE TO REVERSE THESE DEFEATS AND SHOW THAT THEY STILL POSSESS THE CAPABILITY AND WILL TO STRIKE AT TARGETS WITHIN WEST GERMANY. THE THREE MAIN WEST GERMAN TERRORIST GROUPS WHICH HAVE THE CAPABILITY TO CONDUCT SUCH OPERATIONS ARE THE REVOLUTIONARY CELLS (RZ), THE NEW RED ARMY FACTION (RAF), AND THE 2ND OF JUNE MOVEMENT (2JM). END SUMMARY.

1. THE IDEA OF A DEMONSTRATIVE OR SYMBOLIC TERRORIST INCIDENT TAKING PLACE DURING THE CARTER-VANCE TRIP IS CERTAINLY VIABLE. SUCH SYMBOLIC INCIDENTS HAVE OCCURRED DURING VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S VISITS TO OTHER COUNTRIES. JUST RECENTLY, ON JUNE 29, A TERRORIST BOMB EXPLODED IN A MARKETPLACE IN JERUSALEM ON THE EVE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO ISRAEL. ON MAY 17, 1977, A TERRORIST BOMB EXPLODED AT THE USIS CULTURAL CENTER IN MADRID, SPAIN, THE VERY SAME DAY OF VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S ARRIVAL IN MADRID ON AN OFFICIAL VISIT.

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ONE MUST ALSO CONSIDER THAT WEST GERMAN TERRORISTS HAVE AN UNDERSTANDABLE PENCHANT FOR STRIKING AT SOFT OR POORLY PROTECTED TARGETS. IT DOES NOT MATTER IF THE OPERATION IS A BOMBING, ASSASSINATION, OR KIDNAPPING. UNLIKE THEIR JAPANESE OR PALESTINIAN COMRADES, WEST GERMAN TERRORISTS ARE HIGHLY RISK CONSCIOUS. IN THE PAST, WEST GERMAN TERRORIST OPERATIONS (THAT IS, OPERATIONS DIRECTED AND IMPLEMENTED BY WEST GERMAN TERRORISTS AS OPPOSED TO OPERATIONS IN WHICH WEST GERMAN TERRORISTS HAVE BEEN PARTICIPANTS--THE OPEC RAID IN VIENNA IN DECEMBER 1975 AND THE AIR FRANCE HIJACKING IN JUNE 1976) HAVE CONSISTED OF ROBBERIES, ASSASSINATIONS (BUBACK AND PONTO), AND KIDNAPPINGS (SCHLEYER AND PALMERS). THESE NEW, "SECOND GENERATION" TERRORISTS HAVE NEVER DIRECTED A HIJACKING OR A BARRICADE AND HOSTAGE OPERATION. TACTICALLY, THEY HAVE FOCUSED ON QUICK STRIKE OPERATIONS ON SOFT TARGETS. PRESIDENT CARTER AND SECRETARY VANCE WILL BE WELL PROTECTED BY USSS, SY, AND WEST GERMAN SECURITY. IN SUCH A SECURITY ENVIRONMENT IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO CONDUCT A QUICK STRIKE OPERATION. CONSIDERING THE TACTICAL DIFFICULTY OF SUCH AN OPERATION, AND GIVEN THE NEED FOR THE WEST GERMAN TERRORISTS TO REVERSE PREVIOUS DEFEATS, THE MOST VIABLE OPERATION APPEARS TO BE A BOMBING OF

A U.S. OR A WEST GERMAN TARGET OR AN ASSASSINATION DIRECTED AGAINST A WEST GERMAN TARGET.

2. POSSIBILITY "A" - A BOMBING DURING THE CARTER-VANCE VISIT

OF THE THREE MAJOR TERRORIST GROUPS ACTIVE ON THE WEST GERMAN SCENE (RZ, RAF, AND 2JM), THE RZ HAS BEEN THE MOST ACTIVE IN BOMBINGS. IN FACT, WHILE THE RAF AND 2JM HAVE BEEN PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH ASSASSINATIONS
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AND KIDNAPPINGS, THE RZ HAS RECENTLY BEEN CONDUCTING A STEPPED UP BOMBING CAMPAIGN.

THE RZ, THE MOST ANTI-AMERICAN TERRORIST GROUP IN WEST GERMANY, HAS CLAIMED CREDIT FOR THE BOMBINGS OF NUMEROUS U.S. TARGETS IN WEST GERMANY, PRIMARILY MILITARY FACILITIES. ONE OF THE MOST CONSISTENT DOCTRINAL PRINCIPLES OF THE RZ HAS BEEN ITS CALL FOR THE REMOVAL OF U.S. MILITARY BASES FROM WEST GERMAN SOIL. SINCE 1973, THE RZ HAS BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR ABOUT 45 BOMBINGS THROUGHOUT WEST GERMANY. BOMBINGS HAVE BEEN THEIR PRIMARY METHOD OF OPERATION. THEIR BOMBINGS HAVE BEEN DIRECTED AT SOFT TARGETS AND INFLICT MINIMAL PERSONAL INJURY. HOWEVER, THERE WERE UNSUBSTANTIATED REPORTS THAT THE RZ HAD PLANNED TO KIDNAP A ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP AND TWO FEMALE POLITICIANS IN 1977. THE OPERATION WAS APPARENTLY ABORTED WHEN ONE OF THEIR MEMBERS WAS CAPTURED IN MID-1977.

THE RZ HAS A DECENTRALIZED OPERATING ORGANIZATION WHICH IS MOST SKILLFUL IN DEVELOPING AND EMPLOYING TEMPORARY COALITIONS OF INSULATED MINI-GROUPS FOR THE PURPOSE OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES. AT TIMES, THE RZ EXHIBITS A "ROBIN HOOD" PHILOSOPHY. IT HAS PROTESTED FARE INCREASES OF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS. IN BERLIN, THE RZ FORGED OVER 100,000 BUS TICKETS AND THEN DISTRIBUTED THEM AT RANDOM TO THE PUBLIC. IT ALSO DESTROYED 52 TICKET VENDING MACHINES IN BERLIN.

THE RZ WAS FOUNDED BY SIEGFRIED HAAG SOMETIME IN NOVEMBER 1973 WHEN IT CONDUCTED ITS FIRST SIGNIFICANT OPERATION - THE BOMBING OF THE ITT BUILDINGS IN BERLIN
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AND NUREMBERG. WITH THE DECLINE OF THE BAADER-MEINHOF GANG (DUE TO ARRESTS) IN 1972-73, AND THE CESSATION OF ACTIVITIES BY THE 2ND OF JUNE MOVEMENT DURING 1973-74,

THE RZ FILLED THE VOID FOR TERRORIST ACTIVITY BY

INITIATING BOMBING OPERATIONS AGAINST VARIOUS U.S., ISRAELI, AND WEST GERMAN TARGETS DURING THE YEARS 1974-76. FROM LATE 1977 UNTIL EARLY 1978, IT APPEARED THAT THE RZ HAD REDUCED ITS OPERATIONS. IT APPEARS, HOWEVER, THAT THIS REDUCED ACTIVITY WAS DUE MORE TO THE INCREASED PRESSURE OF THE WEST GERMAN POLICE WHO WERE CONDUCTING AN INTENSIVE MANHUNT FOR THE MURDERERS OF HANS-MARTIN SCHLEYER THAN TO ANY PERMANENT RESIGNATION BY THE RZ.

IN MARCH 1978, THE RZ REAPPEARED IN WHAT NOW APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN THE BEGINNING OF A NEW, INTENSIFIED BOMBING CAMPAIGN. SINCE MARCH, THE RZ HAS CLAIMED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE FOLLOWING ACTIONS:

28 MARCH 1978 THE BOMBING OF THE WIESBADEN PUBLIC UTILITIES OFFICE

5 APRIL 1978 THE BOMBING OF THE FRANKFURT MUNICIPAL OFFICE

21 MAY 1978 THE BOMBING OF THE U.S. ARMY'S ARMS HOTEL IN WIESBADEN; THE LEG SHOOTING OF A COURT-APPOINTED LAWYER INVOLVED IN THE 2 JUNE MOVEMENT TRIAL IN WEST BERLIN

1 JUNE 1978 THE RZ THREATENED NEW ATTACKS ON COURT-APPOINTED LAWYERS INVOLVED IN THE 2JM TRIAL IN WEST BERLIN

13 JUNE 1978 THE RZ CLAIMED CREDIT FOR THE BOMBING OF THE RESIDENCE OF THE MAYOR OF MAINZ
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20 JUNE 1978 THE BOMBING OF THE OFFICE OF AN ISRAELI FRUIT EXPORTER IN FRANKFURT

CONSEQUENTLY, IF A BOMBING OPERATION IS TO BE CONDUCTED DURING THE CARTER-VANCE TRIP, THE RZ WOULD BE THE GROUP TO CARRY IT OUT. THE MOST DEMONSTRATIVE BOMBING INCIDENT WOULD BE TO SET ONE OFF IN A CITY THE PRESIDENT WILL VISIT, OR POSSIBLY SET OFF TWO OR THREE BOMBS SIMULTANEOUSLY IN VARIOUS CITIES. WITH THE WORLD PRESS BEING FOCUSED ON WEST GERMANY DURING PRESIDENT CARTER'S VISIT, SUCH AN INCIDENT WOULD ATTRACT MAXIMUM PUBLICITY AT MINIMAL RISK. THE RZ HAS THE MOTIVE, OPPORTUNITY, AND CAPABILITY TO CARRY OUT SUCH A TERRORIST OPERATION.

3. POSSIBILITY "B" - ASSASSINATION OF A WEST GERMAN OFFICIAL

THE MOST RISKY OPERATION WOULD BE FOR THE WEST GERMAN TERRORISTS (PRIMARILY THE NEW RAF AND 2JM) TO ATTEMPT

AN ASSASSINATION OF A WEST GERMAN OFFICIAL. TACTICALLY SPEAKING, KIDNAPPINGS OF IMPORTANT OFFICIALS SHOULD BE ON THE WAY OUT. IF THE PRIMARY PURPOSE OF A KIDNAPPING IS TO FORCE A GOVERNMENT TO GIVE IN TO THE TERRORISTS' DEMANDS (PUBLICITY IS A SPIN-OFF ADVANTAGE), THEN THE DUTCH, ITALIAN, AND WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENTS HAVE SET A NEGATIVE PRECEDENT FOR SUCH AN OPERATION.

IN MAY 1977 AND AGAIN IN MARCH 1978, THE DUTCH GOVERNMENT REFUSED TO GIVE IN TO SOUTH MOLUCCAN TERRORISTS WHO HELD DUTCH CITIZENS AS HOSTAGES. IN SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1977, THE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT REFUSED TO GIVE IN TO WEST GERMAN TERRORISTS WHO
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KIDNAPPED WEST GERMAN INDUSTRIALIST HANS-MARTIN SCHLEYER OR TO PALESTINIAN TERRORISTS WHO, IN AN APPARENT SUPPORT OPERATION, HIJACKED A LUFTHANSA PLANE. AND, MORE RECENTLY, THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT, BESET BY ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS, REFUSED TO ACCEDE TO DEMANDS OF ITALIAN TERRORISTS WHO KIDNAPPED FORMER PREMIER ALDO MORO. IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE DANGEROUS PRECEDENTS SET BY THE WEST GERMAN GOVERNMENT (IT RELEAS
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: THREATS, VISITS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE175484
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: SY/CC/TAG:DAPLUCHINSKY:SMC
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 XGDS-1
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780285-0850
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197807106/baaaezer.tel
Line Count: 241
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 246f566b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SY
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 21 jun 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1856936
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: THREAT ANALYSIS FOR SECSTATE VISIT TO FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, JULY 13-17, 1978
TAGS: ASEC, PINS, US, GC, (VANCE, CYPRUS R)
To: BONN FRANKFURT MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/246f566b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014